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THE EXPULSION OF THE JEWS FROM SPAIN.

TWO NEW ACCOUNTS.

THE two texts here published seem to me to form interesting contributions to the last chapter in the history of the Jews in the Iberian peninsula. They are both written by contemporaries of the expulsion, the one based on materials gathered from the exiles, the other being from an eye-witness. Of course we cannot expect to get important new facts concerning this time, for which the sources at our disposition are rich enough, yet we glean some details which complete or modify our previous information.

I.

The first text is taken from Part X of S. G. Stern's copies from Parma MSS., formerly the property of the late S. J. Halberstam, and now part of the Sulzberger Collection of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. This volume (of forty leaves, in 8vo) contains a collection of historical texts: (1) Letter of the Congregation of Blois, ed. Berliner in *קובץ על יד*, III, 11-12¹ (Steinschneider, *Geschichtsliteratur*, § 33). (2) "Account of the Persecutions of 1007," ed. Berliner in *אוצר טוב*, 1878, pp. 46-48 (Steinschneider, l. c., § 22). (3) "Samuel ben Simson's Letter on his Pilgrimage to Palestine," ed. Berliner, ib. 35-38 (Steinschneider in Luncz's *Jerusalem*, III, pp. 44 et seq.). These three texts are taken from Cod. de Rossi 563. (4) "Letter to Limoges" (Cod. 541), ed. Berliner, ib. 49-52² (Steinschneider, *Geschichtsliteratur*, § 20). (5) "Letter of Isaac b. Meir Laṭif" (Cod. 402), ed. Berliner, ib. 33-35 (Steinschneider in Luncz, p. 52). (6) "Letter from Jerusalem"

(Cod. 402), ed. Neubauer, קובץ על יד, IV, 45-47³ the copy ends on p. 47, line 3 רגילים in the middle of a sentence. (7) The famous letter of Menahem ben Saruk (Cod. 1393). (8) Ḥasdai Crescas' letter on the persecution of 1391, with the introduction and our text. It is not stated from which MS. it is taken. Then, immediately, follow (9) two notes, of which the first is well known. It is printed in the לקח טוב on Lev. xxii. 33, with unimportant variations (p. 123, ed. Wilna, 1880). The second note is partly published by Halberstam in ערוך השלם, p. xxxviii, from our copy, and in another Parma MS. it is quoted as taken from the לקח טוב⁴. These notes are:—

כתוב בצדוק הדין שלנו שנת תתנ"ו ושנה כל"ו והם פרט אחד אלא שתפס מספר שהוא פחות ממאה וכפל בו הקינה והצרה אשר היתה ליהודים בשנה ההיא נכתבה לזכרון בספר הנקרא לקח טוב בפרשת אמור אל הבהנים זה לשונו ואני כותב לזכרון להיות זכר לדורות מעשה שעשו קדשי עליון קהל מגנצה שמסרו עצמם על קדוש השם הם נשיהם ובניהם ובנותיהם ביום אחד בחג שבועות ונשחטו כאיש אחד על קדוש השם בשנת תתנ"ו לאלף החמשי לבריאת עולם כשנתו יושבי צרפת לבם לעלות לרשת מלכויות עליון ועליהם ועל כיוצא בהם נאמר וניקיתי דמם לא נקיתי :

עוד מצאתי כתוב בשנת תתנ"ו עלה בלב המלך הנקרא כלב ובלשונם די קאני⁵ לעלות אל ארץ הצבי להלחם עם הישמעאלים ועמדו לפניו אנשי רשע ואמרו לו מה לך לעבור הים נלך לדרך זו הנה בדינו לנקום נקמה מאותם אשר שפכו דם נקי אז שמע המלך אליהם והתחילה הנורה בחג שבועות בעיר מגנצה וקלקלו לשם להחרים גליות הרבה וכל הקהילות מלומברדיאה ונהרג שם ר' משה מפויאה ור' קלונימוס איש רומי עם כל בני הישיבה :

Then follows (10) the historical notice of Aaron of Lunel (Neubauer, *Chronicles*, I, 191, last line) beginning ...⁶ כתב החכם ר' אהרן מלוגיל ז"ל בשנת ג' אלפים ... The addition at the end, p. 192, ll. 8-10, is not found here. (11) A short עולם סדר identical with Neubauer, *Chronicles*, I, 195,

to p. 196, line 3. At the end the MS. reads *ישו* וברוך משמח *ישו* [read *מרקיאות*]. Then a number of fabulous names follow. (12) A sort of סדר נשלם בחדש אלול with the following epigraph: שנת חמשים וחמש בטולטולה • בריך רחמנא דסייע בהדן אמן • זהו תשלום ספר הקבלה להראב"ד הנ"ל שהיה ממדינת טולטולה זלה"ה • כך מצאתי בדלעיל חוק: Stern adds that this piece is very poorly written and the paper damaged. Then, he states, follow the סדר תנאים ואמוראים and the Letter of Sherira, incomplete, at the end.

I believe the texts nos. 8 to 12 are all found at the end of a MS. of the הקבלה ס', as Stern gives as the source of no. 11 עוד שם 10, בסוף ס' הקבלה הנוכח מצאתי אלו הדברים, and in vol. V of his copies he refers to the second note of no. 9 with the words: כך מצאתי גם כן בס' הקבלה להראב"ד כ"י. כאשר העתקתי. It is hardly probable that all those pieces are in Cod. 117, as otherwise they would not have escaped the notice of Prof. Schechter, who copied *Megillat Taanit* (Neubauer, *Chronicles*, II, p. vii) from it, and of Perreau, who collated, for Neubauer, Sherira's Letter (ib., I, p. x), the הקבלה ס' (ib., I, p. xiii) and the סדר עולם (ib., II, p. ix) with the same MS. But there is another MS. of the הקבלה ס' in Parma (Cod. de Rossi, 1409, Catalogue Perreau, no. 32), where we find at the end הקבלה להראב"ד שהיה ממדינת טולטולה, and where also a סדר תנאים seems to follow. Probably Stern made his copies from this, in which case Perreau's description is very unsatisfactory.

As to no. 8, which is our text, it is clear that the author wanted to give an account of the great persecutions in Spain. For those of 1391 he found a contemporary description in *Hasdai Crescas'* letter to Avignon, which he incorporated into his own narrative, summing up the facts in a short introduction. In contrast to the expulsion of 1492, he calls the events of 1391 הניזירות הראשונות, while our text begins ה' שנית ירו. The letter of Crescas, formerly known through the extract in הקבלה שלשלת (fol.

114 a, ed. Venice), was published in full by Carmoly in Wiener's *יהודה*, pp. 128 et seq., whose readings generally agree with those of the *שלשלת הקבלה* as against the Parma MS. Also, he has a signature which is missing in the letter. According to a transcript of Stern's⁷ copy, the letter was published a second time by Kayserling in *M. G. W. J.*, XVI, 1867, pp. 312 et seq., where the introduction is also printed (p. 315). Kayserling shows that Carmoly likewise had this introduction before him. It would be very interesting to know where Carmoly found the text.

For the sake of completeness I reprint this introduction, the end of which was omitted by Kayserling, who also erroneously states the date of the letter to be the 10th instead of the 20th of Marheshvan. The other variations, alike in the introduction and in the letter itself, are of slight importance. I do not reproduce the letter, as it is easily accessible. The introduction runs thus:—

פלגו מים תרד עיני על גלות ירושלים אשר בספרד • אשר שפך ה' עליה באש חמתו ובמים עברתו בשנת קנ"א לאלף הששי היו הגזירות הראשונות בספרד התחיל בסיביליא היא עיר גדולה מאד היו בה כמה אלפים בעלי בתים והיא היתה ראש לכל קהלות ספרד וקמו עליה הנוצרים להוסיף ולאבדם קצתם נהרגו וקצתם השליכו עצמם בבורות על קדושת ה' אבל רובם נמלטו בבמות והמירו וכאשר שמעו העזירות האחרות מה שנעשה בסיביליא ראש ממלכה קמו גם הם על היהודים ועשו כאשר עשו אנשי סיביליא ונתפשטה הגזרה מעיר לעיר עד אשר הוכו היהודים בהרבה עזירות מספרד ומאז היו האנוסים בספרד רבים מאד ובחמלת ה' על עמו לבלתי עשות עמהם כלה העיר את רוח מלך ארגון לעמוד בפרץ ולגדור גדר במלכותו לבלתי שלוח יד ביהודי ועשה כרוזות מפחידות ומניעות גדולות על זה עד אשר לא עברה הגזרה במלכות ארגון ולא נתפשט משם והלאה וכתב מא' פרופיט במעשה אפד (p. 14 of the ed.) אשר חבר כי התפלות הגדולות אשר התמידו בהם קהלות ארגון יומם ולילה היו סבה מאת ה' לה להצלתם •

וזה הוא תופס הכתב אשר שלח האשל האדיר הרב מסרגוסה שמו דון חסדאי קרסמקאש זצ"ל אל קהילת אביניון על דבר הגזרות אשר היו

בספרד שנת קנ"א לאלף הששי ונכתב הכתב ההוא בעשרי' לחדש מרחשון של שנת קנ"ב חה לשונו:

As to the authorship of our text, nothing can be determined. It is anonymous, and, so far as I am aware, no quotations from it are known. It seems that the author was a contemporary of the expulsion, but not himself a Spaniard. Nowhere is there an indication that the text was written by a man who had to suffer personally from the expulsion. On the other hand, the thorough inquiry into the number of the expelled was hardly possible in a later generation, as there can be no question of a scientific investigation of literary sources on the part of the author. The details about the leaders of the academies in Spain before the time of the expulsion also could have been gathered only from contemporaries. The conclusion therefore is, that our author lived in a country that offered a refuge to many of the exiles. As he shows himself rather well acquainted with Italian conditions, and most of his details are about the Spanish Jews who fled to Italy, I believe the inference is warranted that he lived in Italy. The language of the text and the transliteration of proper names are conclusive evidence; they seem to me to show indications of a foreign language. My ignorance of Italian does not allow me to speak authoritatively. The expressions I mean are, besides יונארו and עשה הקרבה, חקירה מהמספר, בן ימים לחדש מהשנה, מאייו, הגיע אכוריות לבם הרע אל שעור, מהמלך עם המלכה, and so on.

If these conclusions are correct, we can determine exactly when the account was written. Charles VIII stayed in Naples from February 22 until May 20, 1495. Then he left Naples and Italy, and the kingdom of Naples reverted to its old ruler. An Italian author, who shows himself fairly well acquainted with the history of his country, could not speak of the conquest of Naples by Charles and omit all mention of the change in his fortunes if it had already taken place. Our text, therefore, must have been written in April or May, 1495.

As to its historical value, it gives us some new information, e. g., the names of the great leaders of academies in Spain before the expulsion (cf. notes 14-16, 18-20, to the translation), the official position of Don Meïr (cf. note 28), and the activity of Vidal Benveniste in connexion with the treaty with Portugal, generally ascribed to the good offices of R. Isaac Aboab, who went to Portugal with thirty delegates (Graetz, VIII, p. 366 et seq.; Kayserling, p. 108). Vidal was probably one of his associates, and took a prominent part in the transaction, as a great financier (cf. note 37). Furthermore, our text tells us about the vizier Abraham in Tunis (note 45), and the number of children deported to St. Thomas (cf. note 42). Of these the author gives two different numbers, both of which he had heard. In general he is very cautious in his statements, and always tries to give a correct account. This applies especially to the number of the exiles, a point which I will discuss a little more at length, as both the texts published here offer important variations from our previous knowledge.

The number of exiled Jews is given variously in different sources; Graetz, following Abarbanel, thinks three hundred thousand to be the most correct number and defends it (pp. 459-66) against Loeb, *R. É. J.*, XIV, 161-83, who reduces it to one hundred and sixty-five thousand. Cf. also Loeb's review of Graetz, l.c., XXI, 153-59. Isaac ibn Faradj (text II), who emigrated to Portugal one year before the expulsion, gives almost the same number, viz. more than forty thousand families, which, taking the average family to be four to five persons (Loeb, l.c., 155), would mean about one hundred and eighty thousand souls. The statement of our contemporary author, who has made special researches into this question, and gives two slightly varying numbers, fifty thousand and fifty-three thousand families, should have great weight. Following him, we may assume that between two hundred thousand and two hundred and fifty thousand individuals left Spain in 1492. A much higher

number, six hundred thousand⁸, is given by another contemporary in Italy, David of Modena, a pupil of R. Joseph Kolon, who in his ראשי הפרקים מהלכות ודינים on שבת (MS. of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, formerly MS. Halberstam, No. 476, fol. 93 a-b), has the following note (on שבת, 116 a, end of the page according to Rashi's explanation):—

ואני שמעתי כי הגזירות הגדולות שהיו בקטלוניא בשנת קנ"ו [קנ"א] היו בשביל ויכוח שרצו היהודים להתווכח עם חכמי אומות העולם ולבסוף כשראו את עצמם נצחים כמו עליהם והרגום והרבה הרבה מהם וכמעט כולם נשתמדו ועברו על הדת 'ומן אותה גזירה יצאה הגזירה שהיתה בשנת רנ"ב שמלך ספרד גרש מאתו קרוב לו' מאות אלף נפשות והרבה מהם מתו בדרך ובספינה ויותר הרבה נשתמדו כי ראה המלך הנזכר כי היהודים שהיו בארצות שלו היו מלמדים דעת בדברי התורה אל האנוסים שהיו תחת ממשלתו אז אמר אם גרש אגרש את היהודים מעתה כל האנוסים שתחת ממשלתי כי מלאה הארץ מהם יהיו גוים גמורים וכן היה • כל זה אירע להם מפני שלא שמרו ברית ראשונים ומאמר חכמים שאמרו שאין להתווכח על עסקי הדת :

"I heard that the bitter persecutions of 1391 in Catalonia were caused by the desire of the Jews to have disputations with the Christians. Finally, when the latter found themselves vanquished they arose and killed them. Many, almost all, were then baptized, and gave up their faith. From this persecution resulted that of 1492, when the Spanish king exiled nearly six hundred thousand persons. Many of them died on the way, and in the vessels, but more were baptized. The aforementioned king saw that the Jews of his country taught the Marranos the Torah, and he thought: Once I expel all the Jews, all the Marranos in my kingdom—and the country is full of them—will become real Christians. And so it was. All this happened to them because they did not observe the covenant of our forefathers, and the teachings of the sages, who advised against disputations on questions of faith."

Though there is some truth in this view of the expulsion (cf. the terms of the edict of expulsion) one can hardly lay stress on the only detail given here, the number six hundred thousand, all the less as the ו' may be a mistake of the copyist (the author's grandson) for ג' or some other letter.

The number of the Jewish inhabitants of Castile before the expulsion, which is of great importance in relation to our question, may be definitely determined from a letter written from Castile to Rome and Lombardy in 1487, and dealing with the Ten Tribes, which I found on the back of the title-page of Maimonides' Letters, ed. Constantinople, in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America; there is unfortunately a gap at the critical point. The end of all the lines is missing. The passage in question runs thus:

בעונותינו נשארו מעט מהרבה כי עברו עלינו זה ב ורעות עד
כמעט כלינו בארץ לולי ה' צבאות שהיה לנו להחיותינו כיום הזה שנת
זר"ם מים עבר עשה מלחמה חזקה עם מלכות גרנאטה
ולואת הסבה עם היותו בעל משפט וצדקה ארבעה עשר אלפים
קאשטיליאנוש מזהב טוב קאשטיליאנו אחד לכל בעל הבית :

"Through our sins only a few of us out of the many are left, as we had to undergo [many persecutions] and sufferings, so that we would have been entirely annihilated had not the Lord of hosts kept us alive. Now, in the year [5]247 (1487) it happened . . [that the king] started a great war against Granada, and for this reason, he—generally so just and mild—[imposed upon the Jews] fourteen thousand Gold-Castilianos, a Castiliano for each family."

We cannot assume that a number is missing before fourteen thousand, for the lowest possible would bring the number of families in Castile in 1487 up to one hundred and fourteen thousand families, or over five hundred thousand persons, too high even for the whole of Spain. Besides, a ו would be needed before ארבעה. Our text therefore suggests

that there were fourteen thousand families, or between sixty and seventy thousand Jews, in Castile at this period. This is a very low figure, but all the more trustworthy, as it is a number derived from fiscal data. Loeb's opinion, that the maximum number of one hundred and sixty thousand accepted by him (*R. É. J.*, XIV, 183) is still too high for Castile, finds strong support in our text, which gives a lower number than the lowest found in any source (fifteen thousand families, *ib.*, 175).

Our author differs from the other sources also as to certain dates, which may fittingly be discussed here, the dates of the publication of the edict and of the exodus.

Some confusion exists about the date of the publication of the edict. It was signed March 31st. According to Zacuto, *l. c.*, it was published at the end of April (*cf.* Graetz, p. 343, note), according to our author on the first of May. A most peculiar statement is that by Capsali, *l. c.*, p. 67. He says that the expulsion was decided on the first of Adar (January 30), the edict was published during February, and contained the order that the Jews would be expelled between the 9th of Iyyar (7th of May) and the 9th of Ab (4th of August). In the edict, as translated by him, it reads: "During the next (הבאים ראשונים) three months, from the first of April to the last day of July." Probably the expulsion of the Jews was conceived in January after the conquest of Granada. But two months passed before the edict was actually signed.

Graetz's explanation (p. 342, note 2), that the heralds, one month after the publication of the edict, announced that only three months were left to the Jews, is not at all satisfactory, as there was no reason for a second announcement. It is much more probable that this announcement merely ordered the Jews to leave by July 31. As it reached some parts of the kingdom much later, the Jewish sources only counted the full months left to them, while the Spanish historians reckoned from the exact date of the edict. Considering also the fact that the Jews at first

hoped to have the order of expulsion recalled, we can understand how the Jewish authors report that only three months' time was granted the Jews. The Chronicon of Valladolid fully agrees with the Jewish sources (Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, p. 101, note 1). I do not know to what extent it can be considered authoritative. A thorough investigation into the value of the different Spanish chronicles is a desideratum; so far as I know, Jewish writers do not attempt an appraisal of them.

The date of the departure of the Jews is given in the edict as July 31 = 7th of Ab, and actually took place on this date according to Zacuto, but according to our author on the 5th of Ab (August 1), and on the 9th of Ab (August 2) according to Abarbanel (Graetz, l. c., p. 349, note 2) and according to Capsali's account. It seems that in different parts of Spain the officials showed some leniency towards the Jews, and allowed them to stay one or two days longer, in return probably for substantial bribes. That the term was officially extended for two days, as Graetz, l. c., suggests, seems very improbable to me, in the absence of any evidence. Cf. Loeb, *R. É. J.*, XIV, 175.

The text published here is printed exactly from the copy by Stern, though his copy is probably not free from mistakes. The spelling of the geographical names is so incorrect that some of my identifications are only tentative. As the text is not very difficult, I did not aim at a verbal translation.

TEXT.

ובשנת רנ"ב לאלף הששי הוסיף ה' שנית ידו להגלות השארית אשר בימי מלך פירנ"נדרו אחרי אשר כבש מדינת גרנאטה מיד הישמעאלים והובקעה אליו בשבעה ימים לחדש יונארו מהשנה הנזכרת גזר גרוש על היהודים אשר בכל מדינות מלכותו במלכות קשטיליאה ומלכות קטלוניא מלכות ארגון מלכות גליציאה מלכות מיורקה מלכות מנוריקה מלכות בוסקליא מלכות אי סרדיניא מלכות אי ציצייליאה מלכות ולינציאה וקודם לכן גרשם המלכה ממלכות האנדלוסיאה ונתן להם המלך זמן

שלשה חדשים נעשה הכרוז בכל עיר ועיר ביום קלי' מאיו אשר חל בי"ט ימים לעומר ונמצאו כלים בערב ט' באב' מנינם לא נספר אמנם מה ששמעתי אחר החקירה המרובה מהמספר היותר מוסכם שהיו ג' אלפים בעלי בתים וי"א נ"ג אלפים. והיו להם בתים שדות כרמים ומקנה בהמות ורובם בעלי מלאכות. והיו אז בספרד ישיבות הרבה ומהגדולות שבהם ר' יצחק אבובב בגודאלקיארה ר' יצחק ביצודו בעיר ליאון ר' יעקב חביב בסלמנקה. ועוד היה בעיר ההיא חכם גדול בחכמת התכונה ובאשר היה ספק בישיבה הנצרית אשר שם בחכמת התכונה היו שואלים את פיו שמו ר' אברהם יקודו [זקודו] ר' יצחק אליפדניי בבדי"אלורי ר' יעקב קנייזאל באווילא דקנפוש ר' יצחק ייאקון בטוליטולא לאחר שנפטר הרב הגדול ר' יצחק דליאון זצ"ל אשר קרעו עליו בכל מדינות ספרד ובר פלוגתיה ר' יצחק זייט ונחלק בענין אסור והתר ר' שמואל פרוקי בפורמיסקו ר' יצחק עויאל במדינת אלקנדי ר' שמעון סרסר בסגוביאי ר' שמואל צרפתי בדוישינציאה:

ובאותם השלשה הרשים שנתן להם זמן היו משתדלים ובוטחים לעשות פשרה להשאר על ידי הרב שהיה מנהיג קהלות מספרד שמו דון אברהם שניאור שהיה רוכב עם שלשים פרדים ור' מאיר המלמד שהיה סופר המלך ודון יצחק אבראבנל שברח ממלך פורטוגאל לארץ קסטיליא והיה ג"כ גדול בחצר מלך ספרד והוגלה אח"כ לנאפולי ונחשב ג"כ לפני מלך נאפולי והרב הגדול ר' יצחק דליאון הנזכר היה קורא לדון אברהם שניאור הנזכר שונא"אור לפי שהיה אפיקורוס וסופו מוכיח כי המיר הוא ובני ביתו והוא בן שמונים שנה והמיר גם ר' מאיר המלמד עמו ודון אברהם הנזכר הוא עשה הקרבה מהמלך עם המלכה כי היתה המלכה יורשת המלכות והמלך שר אחד משרי ספרד ועל זה נעשה רב על היהודים לא מהסכמתם. וכבר השינו פשרה להשאר על יד סך ממון ונתבטלה על ידי הנמון אחד וקרא ההגמון מע' [מעשה?] צלם וענתה המלכה היהודים המשתדלים מאמר דומה למאמר שלמה המלך ע"ה פלגי מים לב מלך ביד ה' אל כל אשר יחפץ ימנו ואמרה התחשבו שמאנתו היתה זאת לכם ה' הוא ישם בלב המלך הדבר הזה. ואחרי אשר ראו כי כלתה אליהם הרעה מאת המלך ונתיאשו מעמוד קצר להם הזמן והוצרכו למהר יציאתם מספרד ומכרו בתיהם וקרקעותיהם ומקניהם בדבר מועט כדי להמלט על נפשם ולא נתן להם המלך רשות להוציא מארצו כסף וזהב והוצרכו להחליף כספם וזהבם בסחורת בגדים ועורות וזולת זה מעניני

סחורה ונכנסו מאה ועשרים אלף מהם למלכות פורטוגאל על ידי פשרה שעשה עם מלך פורטוגאל נכבד אחד שמו דון בידאל בר בן וינישטי דלקבל אריאה ופרעו א' דוקאטו לכל נפש ורביע הסחורה שהוליכו לשם ונתן להם זמן לעמוד בארצו ששה חדשים והמלך ההוא הרשיע והרע להם מאוד יותר ממלך ספרד וכאשר עברו הששה חדשים כבש מה שנשארו מהם בארצו לעבדים והגלה שבע מאות ילדים לאי אחת רחוקה כדי לישבה ומתו כלם וי"א שהיו מספר כפלים מזה ונתקיים בהם בניך ובנותיך נתונים לעם אחר וכו' גם צוה לקהל ליישובנה שהיא עיר המלוכה שלו שלא יגביהו קולם בתפילה כדי שלא ישמע ה' צעקתם על החמם הנעשה להם והרבה מגלות ספרד הלכו לארץ ערב למלכות פיס ולמלכות טרימיסינטי ולברבריא תחת מלך טוניזי ולרביים לא הניחו הערביים לכנום לעיירות ומתו רובם בשדות ברעב ובצמא ובחוסר כל גם הדובים והאריות הנמצאים בארץ ערב היו הורגים בהם בהיותם שוכבים חוץ לעירות מזי רעב ויהודי אחד היה במלכות טרימיסינטי משנה למלך ומנהיג המלכות שמו אברהם הכנים קצתם לאותו מלכות והוציא ממון הרבה להטיב להם והיהודים אשר בארץ ערב הטיבו עמם מאד וקצתם מאותם שהלכו לארץ ערב כאשר לא מצאו מנוח ומקום שיחזיקם חזרו לארץ ספרד והמירו ונתקיים בהם מאמר ירמיה ע"ה פרש רשת לרגלי השיבני אחור אמנם בתחילה נמלטו כולם אחר היחוד לא המירו מהם רק מתי מספר בכל גלילות ספרד ולא השגיחו על ממונם גם לא הפנו על (sic) אבות על בנים כדי להמלט על נפשם וכאשר נתפרסם במדינות גזרת הגרוש באו דוגיאות של יינוביסי לערי ספרד אשר על חוף הים להוליך היהודים גם הם הרעו והשחיתו ושללו אותם ומסרו קצתם ביד לסטים הים המפורסם בימים ההם הנקרא הקורסאל ינוביסי ואותם שנמלטו לעיר יינובה נתאכזרו עמה היינובסי וחמסו וגזלו אותם והגיעו אכזריות לבם הרע אל שעור שהיו שוללים העוללים מחק אמותם והרבה ספינות מהיהודים ובפרט מאי ציציליאה הלכו לעיר נאפולי אשר על חוף הים והמלך ההוא היה אוהב היהודים וקבלם כולם וחמל עליהם להיטב להם מממונו והיהודים אשר בנאפולי היו מספיקים להם מזון בכל כחם גם שלחו למדינות אטאליאה לקבץ מעות להחיותם והאנוסים אשר בעיר ההיא הלכו להם על משכונתיהם בלי רבית גם כת האחים מע' (?) דומיניקו עשו להם צדקה ולהחיותם הרבה מאד לא הספיק להם כל זה ומתו קצתם ברעב ויש מהם שהיו מוכרים קצת בניהם לנצרים להחיות את נפשם

ולבסוף נכנס בהם הדבר ונתפשט בעיר נאפולי ומתו מהם הרבה מאד עד שהיו לואים החיים לקבור את המתים. וקצת מגלות ספרד הלכו דרך ים ללכת תארץ תוגרמה קצתם טבעו בים ואותם שהגיעו לשם קבלם המלך התוגר בסבר פנים להיותם בעלי מלאכות והלוה להם מאונו להושיב הרבה מהם באי אחת ונתן להם שדות וקרקעות. ומתי מעט מהגלות ההוא נתפזרו בארצות אטליאה בעיר פיררא ובמחוז רומנ"י באמחוז למאר"קה ובמחוז פטרימו"ניאו ובעיר רומי רבתי.

וקודם הגירוש שלח מלך ספרד ידו באנוסים וחקר על מצפוניה לפי שהיו מחזיקים בקצת מצות בסתר וגור על היהודים אשר בכל עיר ועיר לדרוש בבתי כנסיות ולהטיל חרם על כל מי שיודע שום אנום שנתן שמן למאור או מעות לשום דבר שבקדושה שיגלהו והיו הדרשנים דורשים בבתי כנסיות בפני סופרי המלך ומשביעים את העם בשבועה אם לא יגיד וכו' ובמצות המלך שיגלו אותם ומחרימים על כל מי שלא יגלה ואווי שחרב אלו החרמות אכלה בספרדים אשר בכל מקום שהלכו מצאום צרות ורעות ובזאת העלילה שרף מלך ספרד כמה אלפים מהאנוסים ובה מהם מאון עד אין קץ אשר בו החזק במלחמת גרנאטו. ונראה שהיתה סבה מאת השם לאבד אותם האנוסים שהיו פוסחים על שתי הסעיפים וכאילו חדשו תורה לעצמם וסופם מוכיח שלא קדשו את השם בשעת מיתה כי היו שואלים אותם על איזה דת הם רוצים למות ובחרו בדת הנצרית כדי למות מיתה יותר קלה ומתו עם שתי וערב בידם ולא מתו מהם באמונת היהודים רק מעט מזער ואותו המעט רובו נשים.

ובשנת רנ"ה לאלף הששי בא מלך צרפת לארץ אטאליאה בחיל כבד ונפל פחדו על כל המדינות ובכל עיר אשר דרך כף רגלו בה קבלוהו ופתחו לו השערים מבלי מצור עבר מחוז לומברדיאה בהסכמת הדוכס ממילאנו ונכנס תחילה בעיר פלורניצה העיר כלילת יופי ומשל במחמדיה ועם היות יושביה עם רב ותקיף לא מלאם לבם לעמוד כנגדו והכניסוהו באימה ורעד ומשם הלך לעיר סי"נה גם היא ארץ צבי ואף הם יצאו לקראתו וקבלוהו משם עבר לעיר ויטירבו אשר היא עיר מיוסדת במעבר חזק והיו יכולים למנעו ולא כן עשו אלא העבירוהו נגד רצון האפיפיור ונגד רצון מלך נאפולי. ומשם הלך לרומי רבתי גם הם הכניסוהו וברח מפניו האפיפיור לכרך גדול של רומי ומשם נכנס למלכות נאפולי וכבש כל העיירות בימים מועטים וברח מפניו מלך נאפולי לעיר אחת אשר בקצה מלכותו על חוף הים הנקראת ברונדיש ונכנס מלך צרפת בעיר

נאפולי ברצון אנשי העיר והביא במצור את כל החזקות שבה עד שכבשם כולם וכבש רוב מחוז פולייא ומחוז קלאבריאה והיו בנאפולי ובשאר העיירות הסמוכות לה ובמחוז פולייא וקלאבריאה קהלות גדולות ואבדו רובם בעונותינו כי אשר לחרב לחרב ואשר לשבי לשבי ואשר לצאת מן הכלל לצאת מן הכלל כי הצרפתי' שללו והשחיתו בהם והרבה מהם המירו מפחד הצרפתים ועם שלא היה מרצון מלך צרפת שיוקו היהודים אבל הנין עליהם כשנכנסו בעיירות גם הצבורים כשפרקו מעליהם מורא מלכות של מלך נאפולי קמו על היהודים לשלול ממונם ולהכריחם להמיר והיתה עת צרה ליהודים בכל אותם המדינות אשר היו מקודם ערי מקלט לגלויות ונאבדו כמה וכמה אלפים מהם ונשחתו קהלות קדמוניות במחוז לפולייאה וקלאבריאה אשר היה יד ושם. מי שאמר לעולמו די יאמר די לצרותינו ויראה כי אולת יד וישוב וירחמנו ויחיש לגאלותינו.

כן יהי רצון.

TRANSLATION.

AND in the year 5252 (1492) the Lord visited the remnant of his people a second time, and exiled them in the days of King Ferdinand. After the king had captured the city of Granada from the Ishmaelites, and it had surrendered to him on the 8th of January¹ of the year just mentioned, he ordered the expulsion of all the Jews in all parts of his kingdom—in the kingdoms of Castile, Catalonia, Aragon, Galicia, Majorca, Minorca, the Basque provinces, the islands of Sardinia and Sicily, and the kingdom of Valencia². Even before that the queen had expelled them from the kingdom of Andalusia³. The king gave them three months' time to leave in. It was announced in public in every city on the first of May, which happened to be the 19th day of the Omer, and the term ended on the day before the 9th of Ab. The number of the exiled was not counted, but, after many inquiries, I found that the most generally accepted estimate is 50,000 families, or, as others say, 53,000. They had houses, fields, vineyards, and cattle, and most of them were artisans⁴. At that time there existed many academies in Spain⁵, and [at the head of] the greatest of them were R. Isaac Aboab⁶ in Guadalaxara⁷, R. Isaac Bezodo⁸ in Leon, R. Jacob Habib⁹ in Salamanca. In the last-named city there was a great expert in mathematics, and whenever there was any doubt on mathematical questions in the Christian academy of that city they referred them

to him. His name was Abraham Zacuto¹⁰. [At the head of the other academies were] R. Isaac Alfrandji¹¹ in Valladolid¹², R. Jacob Canisal¹³ in Avila di Campos, R. Isaac Giakon¹⁴ in Toledo, after the death of R. Isaac of Leon¹⁵, who was mourned in all parts of Spain, and his antagonist, R. Isaac Ziyyat¹⁶—they disagreed on ritual questions—R. Samuel Franco¹⁷ in Fromista¹⁸, R. Isaac Uziel¹⁹ in Alkendi, R. Simon Sarsa²⁰ in Segovia, R. Samuel Zarfati²¹ in דיישינצ'אה²².

In the course of the three months' respite granted them they endeavoured to effect an arrangement permitting them to stay on in the country, and they felt confident of success. Their representatives were the Rabbi, Don Abraham Senior²³, the leader of the Spanish congregations, who was attended by a retinue on thirty mules, and R. Meïr, the secretary to the king²⁴, and Don Isaac Abarbanel²⁵, who had fled to Castile from the King of Portugal, and then occupied an equally prominent position at the Spanish royal court, the very one who was expelled, went to Naples, and was highly esteemed by the King of Naples. The aforementioned great Rabbi, R. Isaac of Leon, used to call this Don Abraham Senior Soné Or (Hater of Light), because he was a heretic²⁶, and the end proved that he was right, as he was converted to Christianity at the age of eighty, he and all his family²⁷, and R. Meïr with him²⁸. Don Abraham had arranged the nuptials between the king and the queen²⁹. The queen was the heiress to the throne, and the king one of the Spanish nobility³⁰. On account of this³¹ Don Abraham was appointed leader of the Jews, but not with their consent. The agreement permitting them to remain in the country on the payment of a large sum of money was almost completed when it was frustrated by the interference of an official, who referred to the story of the Cross³². Then the queen³³ gave an answer to the representatives of the Jews, similar to the saying of King Solomon: "The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of water. He turneth it whithersoever he will³⁴." She said furthermore: "Do you believe that this comes upon you from us? The Lord hath put this thing into the heart of the king." Then they saw that there was evil determined against them by the king, and they gave up the hope of remaining. But the time had become short, and they had to hasten their exodus from Spain. They sold their houses, their landed estates, and their cattle for very small prices, to save themselves. The king did not allow them to carry silver and gold out of his country³⁵, so that they were compelled to exchange their silver and gold for merchandise of cloths and skins and other things.

One hundred and twenty thousand³⁶ of them went to Portugal, according to a compact which a prominent man, Don Vidal bar Benveniste del Cavalleria³⁷, had made with the king of Portugal, and they paid one ducat for every soul³⁸, and the fourth part of all the merchandise they had carried thither; and he allowed them to stay in his country six months³⁹. This king acted much worse⁴⁰ toward them than the king of Spain, and after the six months had elapsed he made slaves of all those that remained in his country⁴¹, and banished seven hundred children to a remote island⁴² to settle it, and all of them died. Some say that there were double as many. Upon them the Scriptural word was fulfilled⁴³: "Thy sons and thy daughters shall be given unto another people," &c. He also ordered the congregation of Lisbon, his capital, not to raise their voice in their prayers, that the Lord might not hear their complaining about the violence that was done unto them.

Many of the exiled Spaniards went to Mohammedan countries⁴⁴, to Fez, Tlemçen, and the Berber provinces, under the king of Tunis. Most of the Moslems did not allow them into their cities, and many of them died in the fields from hunger, thirst, and lack of everything. The lions and bears, which are numerous in this country, killed some of them while they lay starving outside of the cities. A Jew in the kingdom of Tlemçen, named Abraham⁴⁵, the viceroy who ruled the kingdom, made part of them come to this kingdom, and he spent a large amount of money to help them. The Jews of Northern Africa⁴⁶ were very charitable toward them. A part of those who went to Northern Africa, as they found no rest and no place that would receive them, returned to Spain, and became converts⁴⁷, and through them the prophecy of Jeremiah was fulfilled⁴⁸: "He hath spread a net for my feet, he hath turned me back." For, originally, they had all fled for the sake of the unity of God; only a very few had become converts throughout all the boundaries of Spain; they did not spare their fortunes, yea, parents escaped without having regard to their children.

When the edict of expulsion became known in the other countries, vessels came from Genoa to carry away the Jews. The crews of these vessels, too, acted maliciously and meanly toward the Jews⁴⁹, robbed them, and delivered some of them to the famous pirate of that time, who was called the Corsair of Genoa. To those who escaped and arrived at Genoa the people of the city showed themselves merciless, and oppressed and robbed them, and the cruelty of their wicked hearts went so far that they took the infants from the mothers' breasts⁵⁰.

Many ships with Jews, especially from Sicily, went to the city of

Naples⁵¹ on the coast. The king of this country was friendly to the Jews, received them all, and was merciful towards them, and he helped them with money. The Jews that were at Naples supplied them with food as much as they could, and sent around to the other parts of Italy to collect money to sustain them. The Marranos in this city lent them money on pledges without interest; even the Dominican Brotherhood acted mercifully toward them. But all this was not enough to keep them alive. Some of them died by famine, others sold their children to Christians to sustain their life. Finally, a plague broke out among them, spread to Naples, and very many of them died, so that the living wearied of burying the dead.

Part of the exiled Spaniards went over sea to Turkey. Some of them were thrown into the sea and drowned, but those who arrived there the king of Turkey received kindly⁵², as they were artisans. He lent them money to settle many of them on an island⁵³, and gave them fields and estates.

A few of the exiles were dispersed in the countries of Italy, in the city of Ferrara, in the counties of Romagna, le Marche⁵⁴, and Patri-monium, and in Rome.

Before the expulsion the king of Spain had stretched forth his hand against the Marranos⁵⁵, and investigated their secrets, because they observed part of the laws secretly, and he had ordered the Jews in every city to proclaim in the synagogues that whoever knew of any Marrano who gave oil to the lighting of the synagogue, or money for any holy purpose, must reveal his name on penalty of excommunication. Thus the preachers made proclamation in the synagogues in the presence of the royal officials, and they adjured the people with the formula: "If he did not utter it"⁵⁶ . . . and with the order of the king to inform against them; and they decreed the ban against everybody who would not give information. Oh, how that sword of excommunication wrought havoc among the Spanish Jews, who wherever they turned found hardship and misfortune! By means of this accusation the Spanish king had many thousands of the Marranos burned, and confiscated their fortunes without number, using the money for the war against Granada. It seems that this was from the Lord to destroy these Marranos, who halted between two opinions, as if they had made a new law for themselves. Their end shows that they did not sanctify the name of the Lord in the hour of their death. When they asked them in which religion they wanted to die they chose Christianity, in order to die an easier death, and they died with a cross in their hands. Only a few of them died as Jews, and of these few most were women⁵⁷.

In the year 5255 (1494)⁵⁸ the king of France went to Italy with a great army, and his fear fell upon all the countries. All the cities which he approached received him, and opened their doors without a siege. He went through Lombardy with the approval of the Duke of Milan⁵⁹; then he advanced to Florence⁶⁰, the perfection of beauty, and he had power over all its treasures, and though its inhabitants were numerous and strong they did not dare stand up against him, but they let him enter, in fear and terror. Thence he went to Siena⁶¹, a glorious land, too, but its inhabitants also went to meet him and welcomed him. Thence he went to Viterbo⁶², a city that is situated on an impregnable pass, so that its people might have hindered him from entering. They did not do so, but they let him pass, against the will of the Pope and the king of Naples. From there he went to Rome⁶³, and there also the inhabitants let him in, and the Pope fled to the Castle St. Angelo⁶⁴. Then he went to the kingdom of Naples⁶⁵, and conquered all the cities in a few days. The king of Naples fled before him to Brindisi⁶⁶, a city on the border of his kingdom, on the coast. The French king entered Naples, with the consent of the citizens, and besieged the strongholds till he captured all of them⁶⁷. Then he took the greater part of Apulia and Calabria. There were great congregations in Naples, and in the other cities of the neighbourhood, and in Apulia and Calabria. They all were destroyed on account of our sins, such as were for the sword by the sword, and such as were for captivity in captivity, and such as were to be converted by conversion. The French pillaged and destroyed among them, and many were converted from fear of the French, and even though it was against the will of the king of France⁶⁸ that the Jews suffered, and though he protected them whenever he entered the cities, yet, after the fear of the king of Naples was removed⁶⁹, the communities stood up against the Jews to despoil them of their fortunes and force them to baptism. It was a time of distress for the Jews in all these countries, which before had been refuges for the exiled. Many thousands of them perished, and very old and famous communities in Apulia and Calabria were annihilated.

He who said unto his world, Enough, may he also say Enough unto our sufferings, and may he look down upon our impotence. May he turn again, and have compassion upon us, and hasten our salvation. Thus may it be thy will!

NOTES, I.

INTRODUCTION.

¹ The passages omitted there are: p. 12, line 8: ולא עשו כבוד למחזי כוב; וסוחר שיקר אך באמונה הילול האומר לאביו לא ראהיו וזו אחת משהי זונות אמ' היא אמו והטאתם לא המה על כן נקרא שמה מרה וחרשת בנות אדם ובעונינו את בנה המת; כבודם הדוי בקילקולן המת: line 10; השכיבה בחיק הארץ על פני ההיכל הנמוך בהטאתי; line 14: וכנלב המת והורתי: line 32; ולשמים בשופת צואתו לא רוחץ לבושת ערות אמו: שילוחו ונחיו והכלימו.

² P. 52, our copy has פל"ג before line 6.

³ P. 46, l. 4, Stern reads: שמוייש; line 6: שישו ושמהי בת אדום בארץ עוץ; line 21: ואמרו אלי כל השא; line 9: דבר' ושובו אל ה' וסוחר שיקר אך באמונה הילול האומר לאביו לא ראהיו וזו אחת משהי זונות אמ' היא אמו והטאתם לא המה על כן נקרא שמה מרה וחרשת בנות אדם ובעונינו את בנה המת; כבודם הדוי בקילקולן המת: line 10; השכיבה בחיק הארץ על פני ההיכל הנמוך בהטאתי; line 14: וכנלב המת והורתי: line 32; ולשמים בשופת צואתו לא רוחץ לבושת ערות אמו: שילוחו ונחיו והכלימו.

⁴ In the fifth volume of S. G. Stern's copies, fol. 31 b, he has the following quotation from Cod. de Rossi 1419 (Perreau, No. 42):—

מצאתי במחזור 1419 בסף הלכות וברכת אבלות וז"ל כתב רבי' שוביה בפירושו לזכרון מיה שהיה בשנת תתנ"ו כי עלה בלב המלך הרשע לעלות אל ארץ הצבי להלחם עם הישמעאלים ועמדו לפניו אנשי רשע בני עונגה ואכז' לו מה לך לעבור מעבר לים נלך לדרך זו הנה בידנו אותם אשר שפכו דם נקי נקום נקמתו או שמע המלך אליהם והתחילה הגזירה בחג שבועות בעיר מגנצה וקלקלו והחריבו גלילות הרבה וכל גלילות לונברדיאה ונהרגו שם רבי' משה מפביא"ה ורבי' קלונימוס איש רומי עם כל בני הישיבה ה' ינקום נקמתם ויתבע עלבונם כאמור ונקרי דכס לא נקחי וישמרנו מכל צרה אמן ואמן (וכן מצאתי גם כן בס' הקבלה לראב"ד כ"י כאשר העתקתי).

I do not know whether this passage is found in any of the unpublished parts of the *Lekah Tob*, or *Ecclesiastes* or the *Song of Songs*. In the latter there is a reference to the persecutions of 1006 (Jellinek, על פ' ושהש קהלת, Leipzig, 1855, p. 67; Buber, Introduction to *Lekah Tob*, p. 24).

⁵ ?

⁶ The MS. reads בשנה instead of בשנש, and ולכדורו וימיי; p. 192, line 7, נלכד צלחור; line 8, לנדה is missing.

⁷ P. 311, he writes M. E. instead of S. G. Stern. This transcript was not absolutely correct. I notice the following variations: p. 312, line 4, our text reads חונג לכם כוונתו; p. 313, line 2, לחורבה; line 3 it is not clear whether the MS. reads י"ו or ש'; line 6, וצוק'; line 7, וגם לשם; line 11, באנשים; line 5, בקצחה; line 1, בקהלת; line 13, בקדוש' קק"נ; line 9, ולעצמות, (this is the most important correction); line 6, רק בעיר לרד"ה; line 11, ובירב ענינו; line 16, במחז קסלונ"א.

⁸ The same number is given in שלשלה הקבלה.

TRANSLATION.

¹ The conquest of Granada took place January 2.

² This enumeration of the parts of Spain is not found in the edict

(*Amador de los Rios III*, 603) nor in Capsali's abridged Hebrew translation thereof (Lattes, *לקושים שונים מס' רבי אליהו*, p. 68), where only the full titles of the king and queen are mentioned, in a different order, by the way, in the Hebrew than in the Spanish original, and in the edict, in Jacobs, *Sources of Spanish Jewish History*, p. 139, cf. *ib.*, p. 147). Zacuto in קשיליא וארגון וגרמאסא ואסקיליא וסרדיניא mentions יוחסין ed. London, p. 227 a, mentions רשיויליא ומיורקא ומנורקא.

³ In 1480-81; cf. Graetz, VIII (3rd edition), p. 294.

⁴ This we know also from other sources; cf., e.g., Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, p. 113.

⁵ Cf. Joseph Jaabetz, Introduction to אור החיים : אור היתה מלאה : אור החיים כפי שינויה ומחלומים כמו שהיתה בשעת הגירוש. Jehudah Halaz, who wrote in 1486, says : ארץ הישיבות והחלומים ארץ קשיליא.

⁶ R. Isaac Aboab, who went to Portugal and made the arrangement with the king permitting the Spanish Jews to stay in his country eight months (cf. note 37), died in 1493, seven months after the expulsion. Zacuto delivered the funeral address (יחזק, 226 a). He was a pupil of R. Isaac Campanton, "the last Gaon of Castile" (Kayserling, l. c., p. 108, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, I, 74, הערך, III, 155, improperly refers this title to the pupil instead of the teacher. In his *Handbuch der jüd. Geschichte und Literatur*, 7th ed., p. 108, he has the correct statement). Graetz enumerates his works, p. 218, note 3. Cf. also Löwenstein, *M. G. W. J.*, 1904, pp. 663-5. His commentary on Rashi is quoted in the collection of supercommentaries, Constantinople, 1525 (I. M. Toledano, *אשרין*, Jerusalem, 1905, fol. 3, note 8). Of the Tur he annotated only the אורח הים—Azulai saw a MS. of this part, cf. הגורלים, ed. Benjakob, p. 98—and the יורה דעה ; two Responsa of his are printed in שו"ת עינים, Leghorn, 1745. That he lived in Guadalaxara was not known before.

⁷ Read גודלקסארה instead of גודלקיאה.

⁸ The name is not known to me, perhaps corrupt.

⁹ The famous compiler of the יעקב יעקב. According to Conforte, he lived in Zamora.

¹⁰ The author of the יחזק. On his mathematical accomplishments, cf. Steinschneider, *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, 1901, p. 68; Kayserling, *Columbus*, p. 40, Sambari, ed. Berliner, p. 44, and Gedaliah ibn Yahyah, *שילוח*, ed. הקב"ה, Venice, fol. 63 b, say that he lived in Zaragossa.

¹¹ *Alfrandi* is probably corrupted from אלפרנדי = אלפרנדי as our author puts י for ל, cf. note 16. משה אלפרנדי occurs in this time (Sambari, p. 46; Conforte, p. 28). Isaac Alfrandji is not known to me.

¹² Read בלארליד instead of בריאלדי.

¹³ Nothing is known about this man except that he is the author of a Commentary on Rashi [Constantinople, 1525?], in which he made use of the supercommentary of Almosnino, a contemporary of the ריב"ש, first half of the fifteenth century (a MS. of Almosnino's commentary—*see R. É. J.*, V, 49—in Cod. Oxford 204, was written in 1446), cf. Toledano, *אשרין*, fol. 11 a, note 25. Toledano's identification of our author

with יעקב קינו who went to Tlemçen from Spain together with R. Jacob Berab (שמר השכחה, fol. 68 c) is impossible.

¹⁴ יאקון = יאקון. The incorrect spelling is caused by the Italian pronunciation, cf. note 14. On the Giakon family cf. Kayserling, *Juden in Navarra*, p. 128; *H. B.*, XIII, 64. A little later an Isaac Giakon occurs as teacher of Abraham ha-Levi. Cf. איצור נחמד, II, 148.

¹⁵ Isaac of Leon, born in Leon, died in Toledo at the age of seventy (Zacuto, ירחסין, p. 226 a), two years before the expulsion according to Abraham of Tortutiel (ed. Harkavy, p. 22), but Jehudah Ḥalaz in his supercommentary on Rashi adds ו'ל to his name in 1486 (*R. É. J.*, V, 48). That R. Isaac of Leon is quoted proves that the dates given by M. Schwab, *R. É. J.*, XXXVII, 129, in his description of the MS, must be erroneous). A pupil of R. Isaac Campanton and a colleague of R. Isaac Aboab, he was famous as a Cabbalist and wonder-worker, and also enjoyed great authority as a Talmudist in his circle as well as with the government; cf. the facts mentioned by Conforte, p. 28 a, and Azulai (ed. Benjakob, p. 105 f.), and the Responsum (שבועה עינים, Leghorn, 1745, fol. 59 d-60 c), which he wrote by order of the government. His pupil, Abraham Bulaṭ (not mentioned in Steinschneider's list, *J. Q. R.*, X, 134, no. 54), says about him: רע שהכמותו גדולה משמו אף פעמים בראותם וחסידותו ובשמעם: הכבוד שגשו יו הכמי ונכבדי קשטיליא כולם בכל ובפרט הרב סיני ועוקר הרים נור הקדש ר' יצחק אבובב י"א והרמים והנשאים המיוחדים בישראל ביחס ובחכמה ובענה (64 c, 65 a). Opinions of his are quoted in several instances by his pupil Samuel Sedillo in his Methodology, כללי שמואל (e.g. fols. 5a, 5c, 16d, 18c, 24 b, 27 b), who relates (fol. 3 a-d) that on Mondays and Thursdays R. Isaac taught the Talmud in his academy line by line with Pilpul, and on the four other days he tried to cover as much ground as possible, using only Rashi (cf. Weiss, דור ודור, V, p. 240, where some quotations by Joseph Caro are also given). Graetz, p. 218, says that Isaac of Leon probably did not leave any literary remains. This is not correct, as Jehudah Ḥalaz quotes a commentary of his on Rashi (l.c.). In the Responsum referred to above he refutes a decision of Isaac ibn Ziyyat with whom he does not deal very gently, charging that he misunderstood his sources. He also wrote a Spanish opinion on this case, likewise exposing Ibn Ziyyat's mistakes.

¹⁶ Of Ibn Ziyyat only a Responsum dealing with the right of pre-emption is printed in שבועה עינים, 55 b-59 d. It was attacked by Isaac of Leon (cf. the previous note) upon whom he made a counter-attack (ib., 60 c 63 b), charging him, in very strong words, with the intention to do him harm כל אלה הפרטים מה צורך היה לך להודיעם לדין גוי אין זה כי אם להזיקני ולהב אישני (בישבי הארץ); he reproaches him also for quoting incorrectly the Responsa of the רא"ש, as the division into כללים is by a later redactor, not by the author, and he concludes: ראינוך לזין כל ריאה איך הקנאה והכבוד השיאך ויכלו. Abraham Bulaṭ defends his teacher, Isaac of Leon, against these reproaches (ib., 63-65 b) and states that he found more than twenty mistakes in Ibn Ziyyat's

language. On this occasion he quotes a similar passage in Meir ha-Levi's letter to Lunel (כתבא איראלי, pp. 100-102). Nothing else is known of our author except this correspondence, which is taken from nos. 196-9 of a collection of Responsa. From our text we learn that he also differed with R. Isaac of Leon on other questions.—The name is spelt ויאית in שו"ת שו"ת (only fol. 55 b without the א), ויאית by Gedaliah ibn Yahyah, p. 62 b. Steinschneider, *J. Q. R.*, X, 527, no. 176, identifies it with ויאית.

¹⁷ As the name פרוק is unknown, I correct פרוק. R. Jacob Habib found a R. Samuel Franco when arriving in Salonica; Conforte, p. 32 a.

¹⁸ Read פרומיסא instead of פרומיסא.

¹⁹ Perhaps the father of שמואל עזיאל, who, in 1514, signed a הסכמה together with R. Levi ibn Habib and others in Salonica; cf. Conforte, 32 a. The הסכמה to which he refers is printed now in שו"ת ורע אנשים, no. 53, only the signature of ר' פרוחיה חזקיה is missing there.

²⁰ Probably שמואל סרסה, the author of מקור חיים, and the unpublished מכלל ישי, the שמואל being an incorrect explanation of ש"מ. But R. Samuel Sarsa lived in Palenzia, as is to be seen from a passage of his מקור חיים, in Wiener's edition of שבט יחודה, p. 132. Cf. Steinschneider, *Geschichtsliteratur*, § 57.

²¹ The Rabbi is unknown to me. One would expect to find in this list שמואל בלאנסי, who died in 1487, and is mentioned by Zacuto, l. c., as a prominent ישיבה. He was a pupil of R. Isaac Campanton, and teacher of R. Moses Alashkar and R. Jacob Habib; cf. Conforte, pp. 28, 31, 32. He is the author of a treatise on קל וחומר, printed in מחררי נבחרים, Venice, 1599.

²² I am unable to identify this place.

²³ Cf. Capsali, p. 60; on his activity for the redemption of the captives of Malaga, ib., p. 65.

²⁴ Cf. note 28.

²⁵ Cf., on this famous statesman and commentator of the Bible, the Introduction to his commentaries on Joshua and Kings, Graetz, p. 324.

²⁶ We learn from our text that long before his conversion there were strong doubts as to the piety of this Chief Rabbi of Castile, as Isaac of Leon died some years before (cf. note 17). To him David Messer Leon probably refers in his remark, *R. E. J.*, XXIV, 135 הנבחרים, p. 64: שהיה חסיד ונאמן בפרד"ס; וראו שם רב למי שהיה על היהודים ואע"פ שלא היה בקי בהוראות ודינים ולא זכיר בפרישות ויראת חמא כמו שמוסרם מדרב שהיה בקשטיליא שהוכיח סורו על החילול (Kayserling, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, XI, 194). Bernfeld, in the edition of הנבחרים, p. 64, note, identifies him with Paul of Burgos, who, according to Graetz, VIII, p. 380, was originally a Rabbi, presumably well-versed, then, in Bible, Talmud, and rabbinical literature, and recognized as an equal by the greatest authorities of his time. He was at the same time very religious, and strictly observed the ritual laws, all of which absolutely contradicts Bernfeld's identification.

²⁷ His brother Solomon Senior remained true to the faith; cf. Neubauer, *Chronicles*, I, 112.

²⁸ Capsali, p. 73, states that he was Don Abraham Senior's brother-in-law: רבן אברהם שניאור וניסו מאיר כלכר באר במעמקי מים. Graetz, p. 348, calls Don Meir—הכלכר is an old title—Abraham Senior's son-in-law, and says he was the Rabbi who was baptized together with his two sons, giving as sources Capsali and the Chronicon of Valladolid. The latter only states that, on June 15, 1492, Abraham Senior and his son David were baptized, and on the same day a Rabbi with his two sons (cf. the text of the Chronicon with German translation in Kayserling, *Juden in Portugal*, p. 102). Graetz combines the two statements without any proof for their identity.—We learn from our text that Meir had a prominent position at the court.

²⁹ Cf. Capsali, 60-3.

³⁰ He was Infante of Spain.

³¹ According to Capsali, p. 60, he had had this position before.

³² According to Spanish sources it was Torquemada; cf. Graetz, p. 344, note 2.

³³ Cf. Abarbanel, *Introduction to Kings*, Graetz, l. c.

³⁴ Prov. xxi. 1.

³⁵ Cf. Graetz, p. 342.

³⁶ This number is given by the most reliable sources, as Zacuto, p. 227, cf. Graetz, p. 368, note 1; Kayserling, p. 111, note 2.

³⁷ Doubtless the grandson of Don Abraham Benveniste, the Chief Rabbi of Castile, under whose auspices the statute for the Jews of Castile was drawn up in 1432; cf. Graetz, pp. 417-20. Zacuto (p. 226) mentions Vidal together with his brother Abraham as contemporaries who used their considerable wealth to promote learning. We gather from our text that this branch of the Benveniste family also had the name del Caballeria (cf. Graetz, p. 412). The agreement is generally ascribed to Isaac Aboab, see above, note 6.

³⁸ This agrees with Zacuto, who gives a few more details missing in our source. On the variations of the sources as to these taxes, cf. Graetz, p. 367, note 1, and especially Kayserling, p. 112, note 2.

³⁹ The other sources give eight months.

⁴⁰ Cf. the vivid picture of the horrible sufferings in the introduction to Jehudah Hayyat מנחת אלעזר on מנחת יצחק, ed. Ferrara, 1557.

⁴¹ Graetz, p. 375; Kayserling, p. 115.

⁴² To the Island of St. Thomas; cf. Graetz, l. c.; Kayserling, l. c. The number of the deported children is not given elsewhere.

⁴³ Deut. xxviii. 32.

⁴⁴ A detailed account of the sufferings in North Africa is given by Capsali in chapters 70 et seq., ed. S. D. Luzzatto, in Appendix to Wiener's translation of עמק הנבט.

⁴⁵ Perhaps identical with the prominent Jew at the court of Tunis mentioned by Capsali, l. c., whose name רוריהם probably is corrupt, and therefore is omitted by Graetz, p. 360.

⁴⁶ Our author calls the Mohammedan part of Northern Africa ארץ ערב.

⁴⁷ Cf. Bernaldez, as quoted by Graetz, p. 361, note 1.

⁴⁸ Lamentations i. 13.

⁴⁹ Cf. Joseph ha-Cohen זקוק הדבא, p. 84, Graetz, p. 363.

⁵⁰ Cf. the quotation from a contemporary historian in Wiener, l. c., pp. 199 et seq., note 233 a, שבט יהודה, p. 56, and Graetz, p. 363, note 2.

⁵¹ On the Spanish Jews in Naples, cf. the detailed account of Capsali, l. c., p. 17 et seq. (Graetz, p. 357, fol.), to which our text adds a few details, e. g. the activity of the Marranos and Dominicans in behalf of the Jews.

⁵² Capsali, l. c., p. 19, Graetz, p. 365.

⁵³ I do not know which island he refers to.

⁵⁴ The March of Ancona. Dr. Elbogen informs me that the places mentioned in the text comprise all the divisions that formerly constituted the Papal State.

⁵⁵ According to Spanish sources this took place in 1485, after the conspiracy of the Marranos in Toledo had failed, cf. Graetz, pp. 307 and 475. The only case known in Hebrew sources of an attempt to compel Jews to testify against Marranos is that of Jehudah ibn Verga, who left Seville to avoid doing it; cf. שבט יהודה, § 62. In respect to the effectiveness of this order our text agrees with the Spanish sources.

⁵⁶ "... then he shall bear his iniquity," cf. Lev. v. 1. This is the usual form of an oath.

⁵⁷ Cf. Joseph Jaabez אור החיים, chap. 5 end, כי הן הנה הנשים הספריות באו, והביאו את בעיהן למות על קדוש השם.

⁵⁸ On this expedition of the French king, Charles VIII, cf. the exhaustive work of Delaborde, *L'expédition de Charles VIII en Italie*, Paris, 1888. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. xviii, puts it in the year 1492.—The קיה on the persecutions in the kingdom of Naples, MS. Halberstam 200 (Cat. Hirschfeld, no. 124), fol. 48 et seq., of which I have a copy, does not give any historical facts. It begins שחי נשי and has the acrostic שמואל. The note in Cod. Vatican 187 (cf. Steinschneider, *Geschichtsliteratur*, §§ 84–5) has just been published by Krauss, *R. É. J.*, II, 95, but it gives no new information about these persecutions.

⁵⁹ Ludovico Moro, who had called the king to Italy; cf. Delaborde, p. 394.

⁶⁰ Ib., p. 440.

⁶¹ Ib., p. 487.

⁶² Ib., p. 494.

⁶³ Ib., p. 507; 31st of December.

⁶⁴ כרך גורל can only mean the Castle St. Angelo, to which we know the Pope fled, as the city of Rome is mentioned separately just before. It is perhaps necessary to draw attention to this as in the Talmud and the Midrash כנש"ר is the typical name for the great city.

⁶⁵ Ib., p. 558 f.

⁶⁶ In reality he went to the Island of Ischia, ib., p. 559. From there he went to Messina, ib. p. 505.

⁶⁷ Ib., p. 564 f.

⁶⁸ Cf. ib., pp. 509, 578.

⁶⁹ Ib., p. 552, cf. p. 540.

II.

The second text is taken from a MS. of the Sulzberger Collection in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (formerly MS. Halberstam 413). The MS. has 122 leaves and is written in Spanish Rabbinical characters. It begins in the middle of a sentence of a philosophical commentary on *בראשית*. The heading is *מצאתי כתוב בספר*. א' ישן. It breaks off in fol. 5 b, with the marginal note *ע"כ מצאתי כתוב*. *Bereshit Rabba*, Maimonides (מופת הזמן יחיד), and Samuel ibn Tibbon are quoted.

Ff. 7-112 are extracts from the Zohar written by the same hand, beginning with *פ' תולדות*. Fol. 104 breaks off in the middle of Jacob's blessing, 105 begins *פ' שלה לך*. There is much missing. Fol. 112 b the copyist stops in *פ' פנחס*.

There are miscellaneous notes from another hand in ff. 5 b-6 a and 112 b.

On ff. 113-22 there are different notes, partly Ladino, containing arithmetic, a sort of *רעמים ורעשים*, the beginning of Ibn Ezra's *מולדות*, &c.

Ff. 115-16, there is a history of the persecutions in Spain and Portugal written by an eye-witness, Isaac ibn Faradj¹, followed by several entries, mostly about his own life and the birth of his grandchildren². They partly supplement the story of our text³. One of these entries is of historical value. The writer states that Suleiman settled one hundred and fifty Jewish families from Salonica in Rhodes⁴ in 1523. He persuaded his son-in-law not to go with them. In 1527 his wife died, and he married again not quite two months later. The name of his second wife is struck out, it seems by the hand of his son, who among other entries added that his father died Tishri the 8th, 5290 (1529).

As to the historical value of our text, it must be stated that almost all the dates given by our author, even that of

his departure from Portugal, are incorrect⁵. He confuses the persecution of 1391 with that of Vincente Ferrer⁶. The high number of killed given by him is, therefore, not authoritative. In spite of this, his information about his own time, written between 1508 and 1513⁷, is reliable, as it agrees in almost every detail with the other contemporary sources⁸. In the few points in which he differs from them his statements, therefore, have some value. On the number of the exiled Spanish Jews I have spoken above. The number of those killed during the riot in Lisbon in 1507 is lower than in all other sources⁹, and probably more reliable. It is touching to read how he saved the head of a slain friend. On the whole his story, if it does not give much new information, is interesting, as coming from an eye-witness.

As the text in question is an autograph, I reproduce it as it stands, without change, and without calling attention to manifest errors.

TEXT.

מולדתי יצחק ן פאראש ס"ט

מגרוש צרפת בא למוליטולה חכם א' ותוכן זקן ונשוא פנים הוא הראש מהגרוש שמו ראב"י ן פאראש ונשא אשה משם והיו לו ד' בנים יצחק ומאיר ועקב ויוסף • וכלם נשאו והיו לכל א' מהם בנים ובנות וכו' • ואבא מרי יעקב בא לאישביליא בשנת הרי"א ולקח משם אשה שמה קלארה בת זקן וחכם שמו ר' יוסי ן דנון שנמלט ממה שנשאר מעט מהרבה בשמד אישביליא שהיה שנת הקס"ג שהרגו שנים עשר אלף יהודים • ורבים נשתמדו בזמן פריי ויסינטי ולקחו לטעויות עשרים בתי כנסיות • ולר' יוסי הנזכר היו לו ד' בנות וכלם נשאו ופרו ורבו וכו' • והקטנה מהן אמי הנז' בת ה' הנז' וילרה מאבא מרי הנזכר ה' בני' וב' בנות והבנות והא' מהבנים אברהם הראשון מתו • ונשארו יוסף ויצחק ומאיר ואברהם שני • ובשנה הרביעי' שמלך המלך פירנאנדו מורע הנזכר גרשו היהודים מאישביליא וסביבותיה כמו אלף בעלי בתים • והלכו למוליטולה ולקשטיליא הזקנה בשנת הרמ"א • והלך אבי למדינה דיל קאנפו שהיו

דרים בה אחיו מאיר ויוסף מנכבדי הארץ ושם נקברו אבי ואמי ז"ל . ויוסף אחי לקח משם אשה שנת הרמ"א ואני ג"כ שנת הרמ"ט . ואחד זה כשני שנים . נקראו גרושות ושמדות גדולות בממלכות קשטיליא ואראגון ונאווארה וקאטאלוניה ביותר מארבעים אלף בתי יהודים וכמעט שתמו כלם בהריגות והמרות ושמדות אחרות . ובאנו לפורטוגאל בשנת נ"א . ובבירגאנסיה נשא אשה אחי ה"ר מאיר . ובמלכות פורטוגאל לוקחו בנים ובנות לעבדים בשביל שלא יצאו מהמלכות לסוף שנה א' שיבואו שם והמרום (השמות) לשמות הבנים והפרידום מאביהם ומאמהם וחוליכום מעבר לים אלף פרסאות לאי טומי . אשר שמד כזה לא היה מעולם . ואני בהיותי בלישבוא' עיר מלוכה מפורטוגאל נולדו לי ב' בנות וג' בנים ומתו . ונשארו לי מעט מהרבה יעקב וקלארה . וקלארה נולדה שנה א' קודם השמד שנת הרנ"ז . ויעקב נולד שנת הרס"א . ונקרא גרוש במלכות פורטוגאל שנת הרנ"ח לסוף שנה א' . ובתוך השנה המלך מנואל לא רצה שיצאו מהמלכות א' מכל היהודים ולקחו הבנים והבנות בת י"ג שנה והומרו בעל כרחם בבכיה והפרידם מאביהם ומאמהם . ולקחו הממון מאביהם לבנים . ועב"ז בלא ממון לא יניחו לאביהם צאת מהמלכות אלא שנשתמדו . ואחר שכלה הזמן ולא רצו היהודים להמר הדת ברצונם לקחו בעל כרחם בכל מדינות המלך והכו אותם במקלות ורצועות והוליכום לטעיות ונתנו עליהם מים וקראו אותם פלו' פלו' שמות הגוים לאנשים ולנשים . ובשנה השנית לשמד שנת הר"ס יצא בהחבא אחי הר' מאיר ובא למלכות הזה מלכות תוגרמה ארץ יון שהיה קנם מיתה מהמלך לכל יהודי שיצא מהמלכות בלי רשותו . וכן גם מאחר השמד שנים רבות ולא יצא אדם מהמלכות אפי' בלא אשתו עם סחורה אלא בשוחדות גדולות . ואפי' שיהיה בחזקת גוי סתם . ובתוך זה הזמן שרפו כל הספרים שהובאו לשם מכל המלכיות הנזכרים במאמ' המלך אשר הם כחול אשר על שפת הים . ואחר ההמרה השנים שהיו כל היהודי' המומרי' היושבים במלכות בשמות גוים ובחזקת גוים בכל עניניהם שכבר הורגלו ללכת לטעיות עם הגוים אנשים ונשים וטף ולאכול ולשתות עמהם באידיהן ובמקל ורצועה למדו תפלותיהן בחורים וקנים . וביום אידם כ"א לאבריל כ"ה לניסן משנת הרס"ה בלישבואה עיר מלוכה בעוד שאין המלך והשרים בה מפני המגפה שהיה בזמן ההוא . קם גלח א' עם תועבה א' ואנשים ריקים עמו צוררים ורצחנים והרגו ולאחר שרפו יותר מאלף וארבע מאות נפשות אנשים ונשים הרות וטף . ושרפו אותם ברחובות המדינה שלשה ימים רצופים עד שכלו

הנופות ונעשו עפר • ואני גנבתי מהשריפה חצי ראש א' שרוף מאהובי
ורעי והחבאתיו ושמרתיו והבאתי אותו לבילונת וקברתיו בקברי ישראל •
ובששמע המלך מנואל (fol. 116 a) הרע הגדול הזה בא לשם ושרפו הגלח
ותלו ארבעים רצחנים • ואז המלך נתן רשות לכל היהודים שילכו למקומות
של גוים למלכיות שירצו • ואחר זה ר' יוסף אחי ואני נכנסנו בספינה א'
ובאנו לבילונה ב"ה • ואחר באנו לשילוניקי ממלכות הנ' י"ד לתשרי שנת
הרס"ו •

TRANSLATION.

AFTER the expulsion of the Jews from France¹ an old esteemed scholar and mathematician came to Toledo, a leader of the exiled, R. A. b. J. ibn Faradj². He married in that city, and had four sons, Isaac, Meïr, Jacob, and Joseph. They all married, and every one of them had sons and daughters, and so on. My father Jacob went to Seville in the year 1451, and there married Clara, the daughter of the old scholar R. José ibn Danon³. Out of the large community he was one of the few that escaped from the persecution in Seville, which took place in [5]163 (1403)⁴, when twelve thousand Jews were killed. Many were then baptized in the time of Fray Vincente⁵, and twenty synagogues were taken and changed into churches. The aforementioned R. José had four daughters, and they all married, and had children. The youngest of them was my mother, and she bore my father five sons and two daughters. These daughters and one of the sons, Abraham the elder, died, and Joseph, Isaac, Meïr, and Abraham the younger were left.

In the fourth year⁶ of King Ferdinand, of Jewish descent⁷, the Jews, about a thousand families, were expelled from Seville and its surroundings, and they went to Toledo, and to old Castile in [5]241 (1481). My father then went to Medina del Campos, where his brothers Meïr and Joseph were among the prominent citizens. There my father and mother are buried. In [5]241 (1481) my brother Joseph married there, and in [5]249 (1489) I also. About two years later⁸ expulsions and bitter persecutions were proclaimed in Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and Catalonia against more than forty thousand⁹ Jewish families, and almost all of them perished through violence, baptism, and other kinds of persecutions. We then went to Portugal in [5]251 (1491)¹⁰. In Braganza my brother Meïr married. In Portugal children were taken as slaves because they did not leave the country at the end of a year¹¹ after their arrival,

and the names of the children were changed, they were separated from their parents, and deported a thousand miles across seas to the island of St. Thomas. Such a persecution never happened before!

While I was in Lisbon, the capital of Portugal, two of my sons and three of my daughters died, and of my many children only Jacob and Clara were left to me. Clara was born one year before the persecution in [5]257 (1497)¹², and Jacob in [5]361 (1501)¹³. An expulsion was proclaimed in Portugal in [5]258 (1498)¹⁴, to take place at the end of a year. During this year King Manuel did not want any Jew to leave his kingdom, and children of thirteen years¹⁵ were taken away from their parents and baptized, amid tears, and against their will, and separated from their parents, whose fortunes were taken away from them and given to these same children¹⁶. In spite of all this they did not allow the parents to leave the country, even without their money, unless they were baptized. When the time had passed, and the Jews did not want to change their faith of their own free will, they were taken by force in all the king's provinces, and were beaten with sticks and straps, and carried to the churches¹⁷. There they sprinkled water on them, and gave them Christian names, men and women alike. In the second year of the persecution, in [5]260 (1500), my brother Meïr left the country secretly, and came hither to the kingdom of Turkey, the Greek country, though capital punishment was decreed from the king for every Jew who should leave the country without his permission. For many years after the persecution none of them, even such as were regarded as Christians, and though they left their wives behind¹⁸, were permitted to go out of the kingdom with merchandise unless they spent large sums in bribes.

During this time books, numerous as sand on the sea-shore, were brought there from all parts of the kingdom and burnt by order of the king¹⁹.

Five years after the baptism, when all the baptized Jews who lived in the kingdom under Christian names and as Christians in every respect, the men, the women, and the children alike, had accustomed themselves to go to the churches with the Christians, eating and drinking with them on their holidays, the prayers having been impressed upon both the young and the old with sticks and straps, it happened on a Christian holiday, on the 21st of April (the 25th of Nisan) [5]265 (1505)²¹, while the king and the queen were absent from Lisbon, the capital, on account of the plague which raged there at that time, that a priest with a cross stood up, and wicked men with him, murderers and scoundrels, and they killed more

than fourteen hundred²¹ Jews, and burned their bodies, men and women, pregnant women, and children. They burnt them in the streets of the city three days on end, till the bodies were consumed and became ashes, and I stole from the fire one half of the burned head of a dear friend of mine, and I hid it, and kept it, brought it to Aulona²², and buried it in a Jewish burial-place. When King Manuel heard of the great wrong done to the Jews he came to Lisbon, and the priest was burnt at the stake, and forty murderers hanged²³. Then the king allowed all the Jews to go to Christian countries, whithersoever they wanted²⁴. After that my brother Joseph and myself went in a ship to Aulona, and then we came to Salonica in the aforementioned kingdom on the 14th of Tishri, [5]266 (1505)²⁵.

NOTES, II.

INTRODUCTION.

¹ Spelt פאראש and פאראש alternately. We find both ways of spelling elsewhere, too; cf. Steinschneider, *J. Q. R.*, XI, 594 (XII, 208, XIII, 475), where all the persons bearing this name are put together.

² Cf. notes to Trans. 12, 13.

³ Cf. note 10.

⁴ משילוניקי. ביום ב' י"ג לחדש אב משנת ה'רפ"ג הלכו לרודוס ע"ב ק"ב בעלי בהים מעשירי הארץ ומנכבדיה אנשים ונשים וסוף במאס' המלך סולטאן סולימאן ירום הודו ומעלהו ובה שר א' לזאן והולכים באנית. Cf. the statement in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, X, 401, that according to Benjamin Pontremoli, a dozen families were sent to Rhodes from Salonica in 1522.

⁵ Cf. notes 4, 6, 8, 11, 14, 20, 25.

⁶ Cf. notes 4, 5.

⁷ The date of the marriage of his daughter, 1513, follows our text immediately.

⁸ Cf. e. g. note 14.

⁹ Cf. note 20.

TRANSLATION.

¹ In 1394. Only a few of the French Jews went to Spain at that time, on account of the terrible persecutions that had taken place in Spain three years before. Cf. Graetz, p. 70.

² Probably Abraham ben Isaac, or Jacob, as these names occur in the family.

³ On this family cf. Steinschneider, *J. Q. R.*, X, 518 (XII, 124). This Joseph was perhaps a relative of Moses ben Joseph of Coimbra, in Portugal, a pupil of R. Isaac Aboab, whom he quotes in his Talmudical methodology (cf. Steinschneider's *Hebr. Uebersetzungen*, p. 922), of which an incomplete copy is also in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (MS. Halberstam 418). If Joseph ibn Danon actually lived in the time of the persecution of 1391, he must have been between sixty and seventy years old.

⁴ The date is incorrect. The great persecution of Seville took place in 1391 (ק"א), cf. Graetz, p. 57, who gives the number of killed as 4,000, probably taken from his Spanish sources.

⁵ In 1412, cf. Graetz, p. 110 f., it seems that our author confuses this persecution with that of 1391. We do not hear elsewhere of the activity of Vincente Ferrer—that is Fray Vincente, cf. יוחסין, p. 226—in Seville, where the Jewish community was practically annihilated in 1391, and in 1396 the king gave the Ghetto to two of his favourites; cf. Kayserling, *J. E.*, XI, 210. Most of the twenty-three synagogues were also either destroyed or converted into churches in 1391. In other cities Vincente Ferrer changed synagogues into churches, Graetz, p. 110.

⁶ This date is also incorrect. Ferdinand married Isabella in 1469; the edict of expulsion from Seville (actually from the whole of Andalusia) was announced in 1480–81, as he correctly states. Graetz proves that the edict was not always strictly enforced. That this was done in Seville at least, is proved by our source.

⁷ מורד המור has no sense. I suppose our author meant of Jewish descent; cf. Capsali, p. 57.

⁸ I do not know to what he refers, as there is nothing known about persecutions in the year before the expulsion. Have we again an inaccuracy in the date?

⁹ This number exactly agrees with Loeb's estimate.

¹⁰ In one of the entries following our text, we find that he went to a place in the neighbourhood of Braganza (קריית שינאבריא סמוך לזר ברגאנזיא) and that he lost his fortune when he emigrated.

¹¹ Actually they were only to remain eight months. Our author came to Portugal before the general expulsion, and, therefore, did not have to suffer under the consequences of the agreement of the king with R. Isaac Aboab, after the term of eight months had elapsed.

¹² In 1513, she married דוד אלברני in Salonica, and, according to the entries made by the father at the end of this text, she bore him four sons, of whom one died very young—Abraham, Shem Tob, and two Isaacs, and two daughters, איראבנייה and רינה.

¹³ According to the same source he married in 1521 (when his father lost his fortune the second time); he had four sons, two of whom died in Salonica in 1532, Isaac and Joseph. The two younger sons he calls Isaac and Joseph the second. His two daughters were איראבנייה, who in 1551 had a son Jacob, and ששחא.

¹⁴ Again an incorrect date. The edict was published in December, 1496, and the term was to end in October, 1497; Kayserling, p. 128.

¹⁵ Cf. Kayserling, p. 131, who quotes from a Portuguese source that all children under the age of fourteen were baptized.

¹⁶ This is not stated in the other sources, which give on the other hand many more details about these cruel proceedings of the king.

¹⁷ Cf. Kayserling, p. 133.

¹⁸ Except on this point every detail is in accordance with the Portuguese sources; cf. Kayserling, p. 143.

¹⁹ Cf. Kayserling, pp. 141, 348, and *ib.*, p. 135, note 4, the quotation from Abraham Saba.

²⁰ On the 19th of April, according to all the sources given by Kayserling, p. 147, note 1; cf. the detailed account on pp. 147-52.

²¹ This number is lower than those in all the other sources; cf. Kayserling, p. 152, note 1.

²² Aulona in Albania, where many of the Spanish Jews went from Naples in 1495; cf. Capsali, chap. 73, appendix to Wiener's translation of *עמק הבנא*, p. 19. David Messer Leon was Rabbi there; cf. *R. É. J.*, XXIV, 128; *נביר חכמים*, pp. 5 and 137.

²³ Cf. Kayserling, p. 152.

²⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 154, 353; this happened March 1, 1507.

²⁵ The date is again incorrect; it must be 5268 (1507); cf. the previous note.

ALEXANDER MARX.